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THE

CONSEQUENCES

OF

UNJUST WAR:

A DISCOURSE,

Delivered at Newbury, February 28, 1810, being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a General Fast:

TO WHICH

AUTHORITIES

ARE APPENDED, IN CONFIRMATION OF THE FACTS ASSERTED.

BY J. BICHENO, M. A.

"WHAT IS MORALLY WRONG, CAN NEVER BE POLITICALLY RIGHT."

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A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT

NEWBURY,

ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1810.

THIS day is appointed by Proclamation for "*a general Fast and humiliation before Almighty God; to be observed in the most devout and solemn manner, by sending up our prayers and supplications to the divine Majesty: for obtaining pardon of our sins, and for averting those heavy judgments which our most manifold provocations have most justly deserved; and imploring his blessing and assistance on the arms of his Majesty by sea and land, and for restoring and perpetuating peace, safety, and prosperity, to himself and to his kingdom.*"

The duty of religious fasting, on suitable occasions, has been sanctioned by the practice of all ages, and is inculcated in the New Testament, as well as in the Old; and national fasts, when kept without hypocrisy, and for ends worthy of God, possess that peculiar solemnity, which is calculated to impress the mind with extraordinary

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seriousness. And that, at the present time, there is great reason to humble ourselves before Almighty God, and to apprehend his judgments, no enlightened Christian can doubt. And I hope there is no one here, who does not think it his duty to pray for our venerable sovereign, his person, and government, *and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.* There is not one of us, I hope, who does not consider it as his duty, habitually to pray for the peace and prosperity of our beloved country. This is an essential duty of religion; but, convinced that nothing so contaminates devotion as the passions which spring from partial self-love; knowing, that he to whom we pray is equally the father of all, and no respecter of persons or nations, neither the love of our country, nor the power of self-interest, can exclude even our enemies from an interest in our prayers; nor induce us anxiously to solicit any favour at his hand, which is inconsistent with universal charity.

Whether we be all influenced by sentiments like these, or not, yet they are such as ought to govern every Christian, and are essential to our acceptance before God this day. If we come with hearts fired with anger and revenge against our enemies, and, perverted by pride and self-love, call for fire from heaven to destroy them we

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hate; or, without devout consideration, not caring whether our cause be just or unjust, pray to the Father of mercies, because we may think we are commanded to do so, to go forth with our fleets and armies, and enable them to kill and burn and destroy; such services will be despised, and be more likely to bring down judgments than to avert them.

Our business to-day, then, is to satisfy ourselves (if we have not already done so) as to the character of the war we are engaged in, and what part of our conduct it is, that has been the more immediate cause of exposing us to those judgments which we are called upon to deprecate; that thus our devotions may be guided by that reason, which our Maker has given us to exercise; and have their foundation in that genuine, enlightened, piety, without which our religious services are mockery. If it should appear, on a candid examination, that our cause is decidedly just, and the war originally necessary for the defence of our country, our lives, and liberties; or should it appear to be quite the reverse, neither just nor necessary; or should the question be involved in doubt; in either of these cases, we shall then *know how to order our speech before our judge;* and, *what to pray for as we ought.*

Most of you know what my opinion is on this subject. It is such as it was on the first day of

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our rushing into the vortex of that terrible whirlwind, which, on the continent, has overturned every thing which stood in its way. And whatever the prejudiced, or the interested, may say, to spur us on in our career, or whatever dreams of safety the sleeping may have, the danger to which our country is exposed is increasingly great. From the beginning, we mistook the path of duty and of safety, and every step we advance is bringing us nearer and nearer to national ruin. Hence, it appears to me to be the duty of every friend to his king and country; of every man, however humble his station, who knows any thing of the worth of our constitution and liberties; and particularly of the ministers of religion, on such a day as this, to do all in their power to enable the people to form a right judgment as to the character of the present war* and times; and to show them their errors and transgressions, that high and low may be undeceived, and *repent, and turn, and live.* This would be *to keep an acceptable fast to the Lord.* But woe to them who endeavour to prolong and propagate delusion! woe to them who wish to deceive, or who are willing to be deceived!

* I all along speak of the war commenced in 1793, as one with that now carrying on; for the short hollow peace which we had was scarcely signed, when hostilities re-commenced for *the retention of Malta for ten years!!!*—See note A. at the end.

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In loyalty to the king, in attachment to the principles of our constitution and government, and in respect to the laws and love of our country, I will give place to no man. No heart more execrates the enormities which have been perpetrated by Frenchmen: no man detests more than myself the ambition of those who have been so successful in subverting the foundations of liberty, which, in the first movements of the French revolution, were laid by the hands of patriotism, and by which the best hopes of all the good in France and Europe have been painfully disappointed: no man can more deeply lament the calamities which have desolated so many countries, by means of the success of the wonderful conqueror of Europe. Your feelings, I doubt not, are in unison with mine: yet, God forbid that any of these feelings should be suffered to seduce me from faithfulness to those I address, or you from faithfulness to yourselves!

Penetrated as I am with a conviction of the guilt and danger of my country, and of what is duty, as well as grieved for the part which we have so long been acting, the address of Jehu, the Jewish seer, to King Jehoshaphat, on his return from helping the wicked King Ahab against the Syrians, has struck my mind as most aptly conveying that reproof and instruction which are most suitable to our national conduct

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and circumstances; and therefore a proper foundation for the discourse I am now called upon to deliver. You will find this address in the 2 Chron. xix. 2. *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord.*

As there is no particular sanctity in this day any more than in these walls; and, as a service of this kind, to be appropriate, must be of a politico-religious cast, you will expect me to enter more into political matters than I have ever thought it right to do in the ordinary services of the sabbath. Free from the influence of every unworthy bias, I desire, as in the presence of God, to advance nothing but what may be good to edification; but what every enlightened lover of peace and concord must approve, and what is intimately connected with our duty as Christians, and as Britons.

The ten tribes had now been separated from their brethren of Judah and Benjamin for *seventy-eight years*, during which time they had had nine kings; and it is declared of them all, that *they did evil in the sight of the Lord.* Not one of them was good. But Ahab, who now reigned, did worse than all his predecessors. Jeroboam, their first king, to prevent his subjects from going to Jerusalem to worship, according to the law, and to answer his own political pur-

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poses, had set up a spirituous worship at *Bethel* and *Dan;* in some respects the counterpart of the temple worship, but much corrupted. To the rites of this corrupt establishment his successors superadded those of the heathens round about them, and built altars to idol gods. But Ahab went beyond them all, both in impiety and tyranny, as you will see if you read 1 Kings xvi--xxii, and 2 Chron. xvii and xviii.

To idolatry he added persecution, suffering his infamous queen Jezebel, to harass and destroy the true worshippers of God, till Elijah thought there was not one left in the kingdom. And of the general character of his government, a correct idea may be formed from the history of his treatment of Naboth. For all this, God had threatened him, by his prophet: *In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. Behold I will bring evil upon thee, and I will take away thy prosperity, and will make thine house like the house of Jeroboam, for the provocation wherewith thou hast provoked me, and made Israel to sin.* But although Jehosaphat could but be well informed both of the crimes of Ahab, and of the denunciations of the wrath of God against him, yet he allied himself with him, and hazarded the displeasure of God against himself and his people, to help him in his war against the Syrians. To

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this tyrant, while yet reeking with the blood of Naboth and the prophets of God, he said, *I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses.* And though he had religion enough to propose that inquiry might be made *at the word of the Lord,* and sufficient penetration to suspect the flattering assurances of the *four hundred* false prophets, who ate at the royal table; and though he must have been convinced in his conscience by the warning of Micaiah, that there was reason to expect the expedition they were entering on would end fatally; yet from the influence of some motives not revealed, he disregarded the warning, and went up with his ally to Ramoth-Gilead; where their united armies were defeated, and Ahab slain, *according to the word of the Lord.* Jehoshaphat escaped, as by a miracle, and returned to Jerusalem.

It was now that the seer went out to meet him, and said to him: *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord.* And he added: *Nevertheless there are good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away the groves of the land, and hast prepared thine heart to seek God.* Though in what he had done in this matter, he had acted unworthy of his principles, and incurred the displeasure of God; yet, being sorry—as seems suggested—for what he had done, and his

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general conduct being more worthy of a king of Judah, his offence was not fatal. And, as though he wished to make all the reparation he could, for the offence he had committed against God, and the injury he had committed against his people, we find him afterwards making extraordinary efforts for the promotion of the purity of God's worship, and the distribution of impartial justice. And throughout the whole of his reign of *twenty-five years*, he acted in his general political administration, as the father of his people, and was one of the best princes that ever sat on the throne of David.

However inapplicable some particular circumstances in this piece of sacred history may be thought to be to the circumstances of our own country and times; yet, the pointed reproof of the Jewish seer, and the awful consequence of Jehoshaphat's sin, detached from all such circumstances, are well deserving of our attention this day; and may be usefully accommodated to our *reproof* and *instruction.*

I. Attend to the reproof, *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?* Although the national religion of the ten tribes (as far at least as the ackowledgment of the authority of Moses was concerned) was originally the same; yet, seeing that they had corrupted that religion, accommodating it to their worldly policy,

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and mingling with its doctrines and rites the abominable dogmas and superstitions of idolatry; and seeing that their government had degenerated into tyranny and persecution; they are, therefore, called *the ungodly*, and *the haters of Jehovah*, whom it was criminal in Judah to help.

Now, though the dispensation of God, in different ages, and towards different people, may be dissimilar; yet he is, through all generations, the righteous governor among the nations, and the principles of his government must always be essentially the same; making a difference between the righteous and the wicked, as it respects nations, as well as individuals. And the people who maintain the purity of God's worship and the freedom of conscience, and whose political institutions promote the distribution of impartial justice, and which are formed for the promotion of general good and happiness, may for ever be said to be *on the Lord's side;* whilst the corruptors of his worship, the persecutors of conscience, and the people whose institutions are formed for the oppression of mankind, must ever be considered as *the ungodly*, and as those *who hate the Lord.* And though we are not, from hence, to suppose ourselves at liberty to make voluntary war against all such nations and governments, yet we may fairly conclude, that it is neither wise nor righteous, for nations, professing a purer worship, and whose character is the

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love of liberty and justice, to form alliances with those whose principle is ambition and oppression; and which inspiration appears to have doomed to destruction: and it would have been well for Europe, for liberty, and religious reformation, and have prevented much guilt, if the Protestant nations from the beginning of the great reformation, in the *sixteenth century*, had adopted it as an unalterable maxim, never to enter into alliances with those who still continued to adhere to the cause of Rome: for by the alliances which perverted policy has led them to engage in, they have reaped little but mischief; they have not only retarded the progress of light and liberty in their own dominions, but they have done violence to their common cause, and indirectly persecuted their own brethren; helping the enemy to stop the progress of truth, and to oppress its best friends.*

Thus, though the Protestant nations have withdrawn themselves from communion with the bishop of Rome, and cast off his supremacy, and have, so far, done well; yet, they have demonstrated, by their conduct, the defect of the principle which has actuated their governments, and given impulse to the public mind.

Nor can we consider this defect of principle as undeserving of notice. It is a fatal disease

* See note B.

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which tends to death. *Thou hast helped the ungodly, therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord.* To this defect of principle we must trace that coalition of Protestants and freemen with the Popish despots of Germany and Italy, which was formed to prevent the emancipation of France from the bondage in which she had so long been held. In doing which they made themselves the champions of tyranny and superstition, and joined with the destroyers of the earth to arrest that arm of divine justice, which was lifted up to avenge the wrongs of mankind, and to render recompense to them who had shed the blood of their brethren. If not intentionally, yet in fact, and from defect of principle, Protestants and freemen have allied themselves to support those governments, and that hierarchy, which, as Protestants, they had been used to consider as doomed to destruction; and for the overthrow of which they were taught to pray.

I am not so narrow and uncharitable as to suppose that there are no true worshippers of God in those Popish countries, which have lately been, and still are, the scenes of such awful calamities. When in Ahab's kingdom the disconsolate prophet thought that no one of the true servants of God was left but himself, there were yet *seven thousand* who had not bowed the knee to Baal: so in those countries where tyranny and Papal

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corruptions have most prevailed, there have always, doubtless, been many sincere worshippers of God, who in secret have lamented the abominations of their countrymen. And more than this, there have, doubtless, been many, whose piety has been genuine, though alloyed with many errors and much superstition. It is the principle and character of the governments and religious establishments of those countries; it is the preponderance of the aggregate opinion and practice of those nations, which we now take into consideration, and denounce as meriting our reprobation, and not our help.

That the Papal hierarchy, and all the tyrannical governments which have aided its persecutions, are Anti-christian, and are to be broken to pieces preparatory to a better order of things, has always been considered, by Protestants in general, as an indubitable fact. In the sacred Scriptures there are many prophecies on this subject which cannot well be misunderstood. And though the time, and means, and circumstances, of the accomplishment of this predicted overthrow, are not so clearly revealed, yet we are taught to expect that the divine Providence will so order it, that signs will not be wanting to announce it; and to enable the considerate Christian to form a general idea, at least, of what is about to come upon the earth. And hence we are commanded to *watch and be*

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ready; to *come out of Babylon, that we partake not of her sins, and receive not of her plagues.* Nor have signs been wanting to awaken our attention, and put us in mind of the promise. Many appearances have long intimated, that the reign of ignorance, and tyranny, and superstition, was hastening to a close; and, in consequence, that the whole system of priestly tyranny, and of those civil polities with which it lives or dies, were not much longer to survive. But it was the French revolution that seemed to be intended as the great signal to the world, that that series of revolutions and changes was commencing, of which the holy prophets of God have said so much. And some here may remember, when, in this house, twenty years ago, I ventured to express my apprehensions that this was the fact, and that it became us to watch. It was then concluded, (from Daniel viii. and xii.) that, if our apprehensions were well founded, we might expect to see Europe a scene of wars and calamities for *thirty years;* till, by revolutions and changes, the sanctuary should be cleansed from the corruptions and usurpations which have so long prevailed, to the injury of Christianity, and the oppression of conscience. Time will soon determine whether these conjectures were well-founded, or the mere illusions of fancy.

However great or many the errors and crimes

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of the actors in the French revolution, yet it must be acknowledged, by all impartial persons, that, by the constituent assembly, the great principles of liberty were sanctioned, and the rights of conscience proclaimed, to the nation. And we are to remember, that the enormous crimes which have disgraced that revolution, and brought liberty itself into disrepute, were not perpetrated in its first stages; but were the consequence of those attempts which were made by German despots to reduce the nation again to slavery, and to compel the people to resume the chains they had broken. Till this, so great a revolution was never effected with so little bloodshed.

And what wonder that the continental oppressors should take alarm! Had the French legislators gone to Vienna or Berlin, to draw from their archives those secrets of government, by which the multitude may be degraded to beasts of burden, and subjected only to fawn and labour, no fault would have been found; but, when they came to this favoured land of liberty, to learn from the immortal Locke those grand principles of the social compact, on which their new constitution might be founded; when they laid in its foundations such principles as these, "All men shall be considered as equal in the eye of the law—No person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifes-

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tation of those opinions does not disturb the public order, established by the law—Society has a right to demand from every public agent an account of his administration."—When the foundations of their new constitution, I say, were composed of such materials as these, it was not to be endured by German despots. They were alive to the danger of such an example; and flew to arms to strangle the liberty of France in its birth. But for this interposition, Louis XVI. might have still lived; the first constitution of France might have still existed, improved and improving; and had not the French been maddened to despair by plots and opposition; had they not been taught the greatness of their strength by being obliged to exert it, and the weakness of their enemies by success, their monarchy might have been still confined within its former limits.—*The nations were angry, and thy wrath is come!*

This favoured Isle, also, needlessly partook of the alarm. At first, indeed, the French revolution excited the admiration of a great majority of the people of this land of liberty; but, deceived by the misrepresentations of prejudiced and designing men, we turned to abhor what we had admired, and to mock at what soon proved itself to be, not an object of derision, but of dread. Instead of sympathizing with the distresses of a gallant people, and reprobating the oppressions which

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justified their revolt, we joined with the oppressors of mankind to compel them to resume their chains. No offers of reparation, for real, or supposed, offences, committed in the paroxysm of national zeal, infuriated by the plots and machinations of the enemies of the liberty they were struggling to secure; no protestations which the French government could make of the sincerity of their wishes to maintain peace, and enter into union with this country, as the only country of freemen—as they themselves expressed it—worthy of the alliance of a nation which had broken its chains, and aspired to liberty; no offers or protestations, though guaranteed by their dangers and interest, could divert this country from the fatal determination of joining in the crusade to restore the Bourbons, and defend what we called religion.*

Thus did we make an enemy of the only nation in the world that we had to fear, and which was among the first whose friendship we ought to have cultivated. Thus, all our principles, as freemen and Protestants, and all the motives of interest and humanity, were sacrificed to folly and delusion; and the very existence of the country put to hazard in a cause as hopeless as it was unworthy. As to the providence of God, effecting the divine purposes—extraordinary as every thing

* See the proofs of the justness of this representation, in the note C. at the end.

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connected with the French revolution was—it seemed scarcely to be thought of.

And what has been the consequence?—Look at Europe, and compare it with what it was!—Calculate, if you are able, the immense sums which have been wrung from the people of different nations, to pay the cost of destruction!—Number the lives which have been sacrificed in the hopeless struggle—and contemplate, if you can bear the sight, the crimes and miseries which have inundated Europe for the last *seventeen* years!

II. But here, the awful fact, connected with the pointed reproof in the text, presses itself upon our recollection—*Therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord.* National departures from humanity and justice; forgetfulness of God, and contempt of the obligations of religion, we may expect to be followed by national calamities. *Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people. They bend their tongues, like their bow, for lies; but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord.—Shall I not visit them for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?*

Never was the hand of God more evidently displayed, than in the surprising occurrences

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which have so rapidly succeeded each other in the course of the last twenty years. Never was the righteous providence of God more conspicuous, than in making the French nation the scourge of apostate Christendom. And, alas! having needlessly rushed into danger, by going to *the help of the ungodly*, we share in *the wrath*. If events have not convinced us that the providence of God is against us, then nothing can. Would you war yet *seventeen* years more to ascertain the fact?—"O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!"

Yes, for *seventeen* years—with little interruption—the conflict has already continued! All our allies are fallen. Every expectation has been disappointed. By every effort which we have made, we have contributed to the aggrandizement of the enemy, and hastened the ruin of those we attempted to help. Calamity or dishonour has been the only fruit of all our measures. Every new exertion has only served to place us at a greater distance from every object of the war. Every accessible country of our allies has been ravaged. Every government has been destroyed, or suffered irreparable damage; and the whole of Europe has undergone the most surprising changes. *The beast* is nearly slain.—No matter by what means, or by whose instrumentality. Who shall say, *What hast thou done? Shall he*

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that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him? He that reproveth God, let him answer it.—The spiritual monarchy that has *worn out the saints of the most High*, is broken to pieces, and given to the wind. Rome no more insults the nations; the bloody inquisition is annihilated; conscience is set free in all those countries where it had been most enslaved; and the AUTO *da fe* can be no more acted. Thus, Providence is preparing the way for the spread of the gospel, and the diffusion of that light which it was the labour of the old government to expel.—And after all this, are we still unconvinced, or without suspicion, that we have been fighting against the providence of God? Must you see greater calamities than you have seen, and still more striking accomplishments of God's word, before you believe? Then, *neither would you believe, though one rose from the dead.**

This country alone remains uncontaminated by the bloody footsteps of the despoilers of kingdoms. We are still in possession of innumerable blessings; and, different from all the Popish kingdoms, which have been visited by the judgments of God, we enjoy a constitution of government, which, we would hope, only needs reform, and not breaking in pieces, to assimilate it to the apparent designs of Providence. May our rulers be blessed with

* See note D. at the end.

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wisdom to see the errors into which we have been led, and to pursue the measures that may insure our preservation!

Here, perhaps, it will be objected, that our naval successes, and exclusive preservation, amidst the general desolation of Europe, seems to evince that we are the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and that, instead of having incurred the divine wrath for opposing Providence, we are the instruments of God to scourge France; and, ultimately, to counteract her ambition; and may therefore conclude ourselves safe. Some are weak enough thus to argue; but such conclusions are altogether groundless.

The success, or non-success, of a cause, simply and alone, proves nothing. The cause itself must be examined, and judged of by the principles of eternal wisdom and justice. This being done, then, if there appear to be those remarkable interpositions, which, as far as mortals are able to judge, bespeak *the finger of God*, piety will allow them their due weight. And if the judgment hang in doubt, as to the justice or injustice of a cause, a course of very extraordinary occurrences, such as we have seen, will weigh much with every man who feels the presence of the Deity, and truly believes in this moral and Providential government. The ways of Providence are unsearchable. The designs of Heaven are operated by a complication

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of means, which human penetration can but very imperfectly trace, or comprehend. We ought to adore the long-suffering mercy of God for the exclusive protection we have hitherto experienced; and we cannot be too thankful for the safety we have thus far enjoyed, from the protection of our navy. But we cannot hence conclude, either that our cause is originally or essentially good; or that our safety is likely to be perpetual. I wish not to discourage the humble hopes of the good, but it would be criminal to flatter the confidence of the presumptuous, who are ingenious to find out arguments to encourage the continuance of those measures, which have brought the nation to the brink of ruin. But is it not easy to suppose, that our temporary preservation, and naval successes, may make a part of the great scheme of divine Providence, without implying either the justice of our cause, or our perpetual safety. It is probable that, whilst our enemy is the great instrument to break to pieces the nations, we may be the instrument of Providence, at once to chastise him, and, by the aid which we afford to those to be destroyed, and by the measures we pursue, to operate, indirectly, the destruction of those whom we intended to help. They who have attentively observed the progress of things, for the last seventeen years, will not be disposed to reject this hypothesis, as undeserving of all notice. Had

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it not been for the activity, and wealth, and power, of this country, to rouse and encourage our allies, most of the old governments would, probably, have still existed, much in their former state.

But, to settle this question, which nothing but ignorance and presumption could suggest, one word is enough. If mere preservation and partial success be the marks of divine favour, what favourites must our enemies be! whose success by land is certainly as great as ours by sea; and who, moreover, makes others pay the cost: and as to Buonaparte, he would thus be placed at the very top of the calendar of Saints.

'If the consideration, neither of the character of the service we are engaged in, nor of the disappointments and calamities which have attended our endeavours to help the old establishments of corrupted Christendom, are sufficient to make us suspect God's disapprobation of our cause; or if our mere preservation, or our successes, in a department of warfare which has little affected the main object of the war, induces us still to conclude, that whatever may have happened to other nations, yet we are safe; then, let me intreat you to turn your attention to those intimations of Divine displeasure, and to those signs of hastening calamities, which exist in the very bowels of the empire, and affect its most vital parts.

To say nothing of the moral and political state

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of our foreign possessions, on which we so much depend for that commerce, by which our labourers are fed, and our taxes paid; but where, as the reward of our doings, the aspect of things portends no common evils,—let us look nearer home. Reflect on the vast accumulation of our national debt; the immensity of our annual expenditure—85,000,000*l.* and the consequent burdens under which the nation groans.—Reflect, that great as the danger to be expected from this quarter is, yet that it bears no proportion to *that*, with which the general contempt of all public virtue, and the universal spread of corruption, threatens us.—Reflect on the pertinacity with which the great adhere to the abuses of which the public complain, and compare it with the growing dissatisfaction which spreads through the country, on this account, and the contempt it excites against those whom we wish to honor.—Reflect on the obstinate resistance which is made to all that reform, which might preserve our constitution from degenerating into tyranny; and restore it to be in practice, what it is in theory: and thus prevent that indifference to the public welfare, in the mass of the people, which is more to be dreaded than all the legions of the enemy.—Reflect on the infatuation and imbecility which seems to direct our public affairs, and on the narrow policy and ill-timed bigotry, which insults and divides, when the common danger so imperiously

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demands measures of conciliation and union. Are liberal measures proposed for uniting the energies of men, of all religious opinions, and for extinguishing in the common flood of patriotism, that spirit of discord which divides and weakens? The cry of THE CHURCH IS IN DANGER, is immediately set up; which, bearing down all before it, opens a wide breach for the entrance of the enemy, and paralyzes half the arms, which should be invigorated to defend us. In the *nineteenth century*, the statesmen of enlightened Britain, to whom is committed the destiny of a great empire—destitute of all those comprehensive views and liberal sentiments suited to the advanced state of knowledge; and, as if alone incapable of perceiving the peculiarity of the times we live in, and of discriminating in their judgment, the true sources of our danger—are alarmed at the phantoms of superstition, and contend for schemes of government, worthy only of the blighted mind of a parish-priest of *three hundred* years ago.

Turning from these spectacles of alarm, reflect on the general insensibility of the people, both to their danger, and to their public duties; on the dissipation and universal corruption of manners; on the great forgetfulness of God, and neglect of religious duties; and say, are there no signs of hastening ruin? are there no reasons to fear that the wrath of God is upon us, and that he hath

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turned our wise men backward, and made their knowledge foolishness?

Although the great body of the people are still blind to the hand of God; and although too many still cry for war, yet the more thoughtful are recovering from their delusion:—the mists have begun to disperse. You begin to perceive the mighty danger, as a giant advancing towards you; you feel the hollow ground on which you stand tremble; you begin to perceive the peril into which our country is brought. Ah! our *Sion spreadeth forth her hands, and there is none to comfort her. There is none to guide her among all the sons she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up.*

O my country! when we contemplate thy varied character, thy conduct, and the dangers which threaten thee, how mingled are our sensations? How many are thy charms to inspire our love, and make us cling to thy destinies! But many are the blemishes which deface thy beauty, and the magnitude of thy vices threatens thy life!—How many great and amiable qualities adorn thy character! How wise are many of thy institutions!—How pure thy courts of justice!—How numerous and extensive are thy charities!—How great thy care for the poor and needy!—But, thy children in the midst of thee, have forgotten God. *There is a*

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conspiracy of thy prophets, like a roaring lion; and thy great men are like the wolves, ravening the prey. —How charming are thy precepts of liberty: and under the protection of thy shield, the persecuted have found safety! But, thou hast forgotten thine own precepts, and what it was that made thee great; and for which we chiefly loved thee. Thou hast gone to the help of the ungodly: and *therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord!*

My friends and countrymen! what is now our duty, as Christians and as good citizens, who are concerned for the glory of God, and the prosperity of our country; and that the divine Providence, which works by means, may deliver us from the judgments to which we have exposed ourselves? It may be considered, by the cold and careless, as the mere folly of enthusiasm; but, from the conviction which I feel of the great guilt and danger of our proceedings, as a nation, I think I should sin against God and my country, if on this day, I were not to bear a faithful testimony, and say, that, unless we cleanse ourselves from our corruptions, personal and national, in church and state; unless we cease from the career we have long been running, and are directed by wiser counsels than those which have brought us to the brink of ruin, a heavy visitation must be expected.

Yes, it is our duty to humble ourselves before

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God, against whom we have sinned by the misimprovement of the extraordinary light with which he has distinguished us, and the abuse of our power and wealth. It is our duty to pray to God, that that delusion, which has led the nation astray, may be dissipated before it be too late; that the errors into which the nation or government may have fallen, may be pardoned; and that our great and many sins may not issue in our ruin; that all may be enlightened to know what is good to be done in this time of danger, and that every heart may be inspired with those just sentiments which are necessary to a right conduct. It is our duty to repent, and immediately enter on a thorough reformation, as the best means of averting those judgments which have fallen upon the surrounding nations; and of which our superiors profess to be afraid. By such a conduct, if general and sincere, we might derive a good hope that these judgments will not be necessary to our renovation; will not be necessary to bring us to that purity of manners, and to reduce us to that just and benevolent temper, that piety towards God and charity to all mankind, which our religion inculcates, as essential to the favor of God; and without which, no nation can be truly and permanently happy and prosperous; without which, wars, and commotions, and revolutions, must be expected, as the fruit and chastisement of their follies and sins.

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It is incumbent on us, also, to rouse ourselves to an active attention to the duties of our several stations; and not only to those more common duties of life which occur every day, but to those political obligations that we are under to our king and country, and that the constitution and laws prescribe; and to an attention to which we are now particularly called, by the peculiar circumstances of the times. Our duty is to bear testimony, in every legal way we can, against corruptions and war; and to lift up our voice for that political reformation, without which, neither our property, nor our liberties, nor our country, can long be safe.

"But my voice is too feeble to be heard; my efforts can be but of little use in so great a work as the salvation of an empire." True, if there were no voice but yours, it would be better to fly from danger than oppose it. But, let all the *thousands* who complain and murmur in solitude, discharge the duty which the constitution directs, and their voice will be powerful *as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings*, to appal corruption, and awake the nation from its fatal slumber. But does each, from motives of indolence, or of interest, or of fear, draw back from his duty? Of what practical worth, then, are the rights which we have received from our ancestors? If, absorbed in self, and dead to all public spirit, we fold our arms and stand silent, when the safety

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or the liberty of our country calls for our help, whom shall we have to accuse when the awful moment arrives, and calamities burst upon us as a flood? And whom will our children, and children's children, have to accuse, if, regardless of our duty, and insensible to the value and use of our rights, we silently contemplate the approaching ruin without an attempt to repel its progress?

With the meekness of Christians, then, and the energy of men penetrated with a just sense of the imminence of our danger, and of the value of what we have at stake; as wishing to prevent the increase of those evils which lead to revolt, and all its crimes and miseries, let us, in the spirit of peace, set ourselves faithfully to discharge the duties which we owe to our country; let us repent, and turn to God with our whole heart, and who can tell, but, that dark as our political hemisphere is, the impending wrath may be averted, and prosperity be yet the portion of our country.

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AUTHORITIES

In Confirmation of what is advanced in the foregoing Pages.

Note A.

THE following was the final and ultimate proposal which Lord Whitworth delivered to the French government, to prevent the renewal of hostilities in 1803.

I. The island of Lampedosa to be kept in perpetuity.

II. To retain Malta till Lampedosa is got ready for us as a naval station, then resign it to the Maltese inhabitants.

III. Batavian republic to be evacuated.

IV. The King of Etruria and Italian Republic to be acknowledged by his Majesty.

V. Switzerland to be evacuated by the French forces.

VI. Provision to be assigned to the King of Sardinia.

Secret Articles.—Malta shall not be required to be evacuated till after ten years.

The three last articles may be all omitted, or all inserted.

An answer to this demand in *thirty-six* hours.

The French asked in amazement, "Is there an example in the records of history of so imperious an ultimatum?" And may not the English ask, Who, but men without humanity; who, but men infatuated preparatory to destruction—particularly after what had been experienced—would have again plunged the nation into war, for objects comparatively so insignificant?

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Note B.

No one can read attentively the History of the German Empire from 1665 to 1687, and from 1701 to 1710, and not be convinced, that the success of the Emperor against the liberties of Hungary, is to be traced to the advantages he derived from his alliances with Protestant states.—Consult *Mod. Univer. Hist.* vol. xxvii.

In defiance of the most solemn conventions, and most sacred obligations, the Emperors, as Kings of Hungary, encroached upon the rights and liberties of the people; and from the year 1655 particularly, their oppressions were insupportable. "For ten years, both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations. The injuries and insults which they suffered, are not to be numbered."—*Mosheim's Eccle. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 294.

In 1665, the Hungarians revolted. In the style of courtiers, this, of course, was called *rebellion;* but historians, in general, have, with more modesty, termed it *revolt.* Driven to despair by the sufferings they endured in the contest which ensued, and by the apprehension of those still greater sufferings with which they were threatened; and weighing the threats of their intolerant tyrant, and the certainty of slavery, if they were subdued, against the fair promises of protection, in the enjoyment of their religion and ancient privileges, which were made them by the Turks; they forgot the interest of these western nations, which beheld their miseries without compassion, and accepted the assistance of the common enemy of Christians: and thus opened for them a passage into the heart of Europe. In this they erred: but, all circumstances considered, they are, for this transaction, as much the objects of pity as of blame; and if the Protestant nations had not, for so many years, not only stood quiet spectators of their injuries; but by the alliances they entered into, indirectly aided the op-

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pressor. This calamity might have been avoided. It is allowed that the Protestants allied themselves with the oppressor of the Hungarians, not for the express purpose of enabling him to subdue his subjects to slavery; but, generally, to oppose the schemes of France: yet, they were thus guilty of prostitution of principle, and contracted guilt: because, though they must have known that their alliances indirectly aided the criminal views of the common enemy of Protestants, yet they pursued the course of their policy, without doing that for their brethren, which justice and compassion dictated.

Before the peace of Nimeguen, in 1679, whilst the Dutch, the Danes, the Brandenburghers, and Hessians, were employed in other quarters, the Emperor improved the advantage which this afforded him, and employed himself chiefly to subdue the revolters against his tyranny.—*Mod. Univer. Hist.* vol. 27, p. 200.

And afterwards, when the successes of the revolters, joined by the Turks, made the tyrant tremble for the safety of his hereditary dominions, and there was an opportunity for the states of Holland, the elector of Brandenburgh, the Swedes, and other Protestants, to make the liberty of Hungary the price of their assistance, they afforded him help without conditions; and the cause of Protestantism and liberty in Hungary, was entirely ruined. The crown was made hereditary in the house of Austria; and the Emperor's son Joseph, a child of nine years old, was crowned king, December 9, 1687.

Provoked by unremitted oppressions, the Hungarians again revolted in 1701; but by the indirect aid which Leopold and Joseph received, not only from the Dukes of Hanover, Zell, and Wolfenbuttle, but from England and Holland, they were enabled finally to crush them in 1710. And when the Earl of Peterborough, the representative of the sovereign of this Protestant country, presented to the Emperor Joseph, a memorial relative to the affairs of the empire, he remarked, as a matter to be boasted of, "That the Queen of England had

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made the utmost efforts to support the house of Austria in Spain, Flanders, Hungary, and Germany." He said, "She felicitated herself on having been instrumental in appeasing the disturbances in Hungary." *Ibid*, p. 333.

Thus it was in former times: and what have we got but guilt and calamity, by the confederacies we have formed for the last seventeen years? Look no farther than Portugal and Spain. Great guilt and great responsibility attach somewhere. Do we read what has been published by those who have been engaged in the late campaigns in those countries; and can we rise from the perusal without shuddering at the thought, that Britons and Protestants should shed their blood, and waste their treasure, to support *such governments* as those we are fighting for? should yield them assistance, without an attempt to assimilate them to something like justice and humanity? We could refuse amity with France, because a republic; but, we are now become so delicate, in our respect for the independence of nations, that we cannot even stipulate, as the price of our assistance, the reform of those abuses in government, the existence of which renders that assistance of no avail. What a reflection on this Protestant country: that, while the power of the French, when they have been the conquerors, has suspended the horrid reign of the inquisition! the succeeding triumphs of the British, should have enabled it to resume its sanguinary sway! Tell it not in Gath!

Such facts loudly proclaim our dishonour; and as far as such facts are concerned, this conclusion must be drawn: the proceedings of the French are directed either by a wiser policy than those of this country, or by better principles. If, indeed, we look at our proceedings for the salvation of Spain and Portugal from the beginning, does it not seem as if those who have directed our operations, were, as by a supernatural infatuation, as perfectly devoid of all the best principles of Englishmen and Protestants, as of all sound policy. Instead of proposing that reform of abuses, by which the condition of the

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mass of the people might be ameliorated; and without which it was folly to expect them to feel that interest in their governments, which could rouse them to effectual exertions, they left the stupid and bigoted *juntas* to co-operate, by means worthy only of their perverted understandings. Instead of liberty, civil and religious, being proclaimed to the thousands, who, doubtless, sighed for it, even in those regions of darkness and death, the cause was not only clogged with the pretensions of princes unworthy to reign, but with all the corruptions and abuses of the old governments; and the people, while called upon to rise and fight for kings, and nobles, and priests, were left to drag their chains after them, without hope of relief.

The penetrating eye of the wonderful man they have had to contend with, perceiv d their blunder; and his genius did not fail to turn it to his own advantage. By abolishing *feudal oppressions* and the *bloody inquisition* in Spain, he restored to the people those rights, the value of which the most stupid might perceive in a moment; and by which he snatched from his opponents a means of victory, which can never be recovered: but the results of which might easily have been calculated.

Thus, from having had no motives of action, but those which sprung from the mere wish of counteracting the treacherous ambition of the French Emperor, or from hatred of him, and being as destitute of ingenious policy as of generous feeling, they have so managed it, that the result is nothing but calamity, both to this country, and to those whom they continue to stimulate to a hopeless opposition: an opposition which can be productive of nothing but misery to the unfortunate people who join in it.

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Note C.

The following are extracts from *a Letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales*, by W. A. Miles, esq. one of the best pamphlets which the revolutionary war has occasioned.

"Those who can hastily resolve upon hostilities, even when aggression has been offered, without first trying, by amicable negotiation, to avoid an appeal to arms, will find the most splendid triumphs but a poor counterpoise to the wide ruin and desolation they will have occasioned. But the mind that can hatch wars, with a fecundity capable of depopulating the world, if its power equalled its malice, must in its very nature be as dark as Erebus. I know of no combination of words in my own, or any other language, capable of expressing the abhorrence in which a man with a mind so constructed ought to be universally held. To deliberately resolve on war, unprovoked by insult or injustice—unauthorized by considerations of self-defence, without even the chance or expectation of acquiring additional territory or dominion, with the certainty of inflicting calamities, without the hope of deriving any one good in return for so much crime and misery; pronouncing sentence of death against thousands, perhaps millions, and sending fire and sword amongst unoffending and defenceless nations, with pestilence and famine in the rear, to destroy what warfare spares, argues something so very atrocious, that, were it not as rare as it is diabolical, our existence would be every thing but a blessing. It is no secret to your Royal Highness, that Mr. Pitt, more attached to his place than to the interests of his country, accepted, in 1791, the disgraceful alternative on which alone he would be allowed to direct your father's councils. Nor is the regret you felt at a determination so criminal and injudicious, or the anxiety you have invariably felt and expressed from that fatal period, for the

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return of peace, unknown o he world. It is a trait of much promise in your character, and will conduct the judgment of foreign nations, as well as the people of these kingdoms, to correctly estimate the capacity of your mind by its benevolence.

"It is unnecessary to remind you, Sir, that France, when this rash resolve was made, had neither the means nor disposition to quarrel with her neighbours, and that she could not have given offence or umbrage to the British nation. In strict justice, the commencement of the contest should date from the moment the British cabinet had decided upon the measure, in 1791, and not in 1793. At the latter period France had no choice left her. Irritated by the perfidy and insults of foreign courts; harassed by traitors within, who, under foreign auspices, '*fooled her, in the delirium of her convulsion, to the very top of her bent;*' perplexed and bewildered by the innumerable under-hand projects perpetually forming by the ill-advised king and queen, who vainly hoped to recover the authority they had lost; menaced with a civil war by the intrigues carrying on at the Tuilleries, at Vienna, at Berlin, Petersbugh, and London, through the vile agency of a discarded nobility; leagued with a banditti of priests and impostors, the convention had no resource from rebellion, but in boldly throwing away the scabbard, and trusting the fortunes of the revolution to the sword.

"It was not until the 8th of February, 1793, that the first angry shot was fired against the British flag; but those who do not date the commencement of hostilities from the period at which our cabinet resolved upon war, are not likely to form a correct judgment of the result, or to decide fairly which of the two nations was the aggressor.

"The period is arrived at which all doubts on a question so important should be removed. The nation, better instructed as to the cause and origin of the war, will be better able to decide which of the two powers is bound in honour to make the first advance towards a termination of it. If it

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should appear as evident to the plain good sense of the country, as it does to the intelligent mind of your Royal Highness, that Great Britain provoked the contest, the same conviction that you feel of the necessity of concluding it, will be equally evident to parliament, and suggest to their wisdom the best means of impressing similar sentiments on those who have the direction of his Majesty's affairs.

"The facts I have felt it my duty to communicate to you, Sir, prove the war, in the first instance, to have been a wanton aggression on the part of this country—the insolence or silence with which every overture for negotiation on the part of France, at different periods of the contest, was received, marks the bitter animosity which pervaded your father's councils, while a power on the continent remained to be subsidized, even at the hazard of their own existence, from Austria down to Sweden, including the whole race of German electors and landgraves; and when every prospect of wresting from France, either by arms or negotiation, any one of the conquests she had made, was extinguished, the war has been persisted in with a fury and an obstinacy that would lead us to suppose ministers are resolved to try their talents at impossibilities, by reducing us to play for our last stake! Sir, it behoves your Royal Highness—it behoves the friends of your illustrious house, and of the constitution, to examine the actual state, and future prospects, of the country; to compare the respective conditions, power, and resources, of the two nations, France and England, in 1791, when your father was unfortunately advised to war with France, at all events, and to make it the sole condition on which Mr. Pitt would be suffered to direct our public councils. It is incumbent on parliament to stand between incapacity and the ruin of the empire—it is full time that delusion and complaints should descend to one common tomb to rise no more! The one implies excessive weakness, the other extreme servility. We have been the dupe of both; and it is full *time we should*

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recover our senses, and put an end to the reign of impostors.—Our existence, as a nation, depends at this moment on mere accident, not on the vigilance and gallantry of our navy; for if it did, we should have nothing to fear: happily it does not depend on the wisdom of those who direct his Majesty's councils, for in that case we should have nothing to hope.—No, Sir, we are now entirely dependent on the winds of Heaven, and on casualties, upon which we dare not calculate—a gale of wind, a lee shore, an explosion, may give free passage to the enemy to land in Ireland, and seal our ruin past redemption. If it should be asked, How the danger of a catastrophe so deplorable can be avoided in the present state of the contest? I answer, by PEACE—there is no other avenue to salvation—it is broad and direct, and may be easily found, whenever ministers will give themselves the trouble to look for it:—but they must be content to relinquish a bigoted attachment to usages no longer applicable, nor stand upon vain and frivolous punctilios—the vice of little minds. It is time they should be taught, that, though forms may sometimes rank as preservatives, they are not essences—those who made the first advance to war, are bound in honour to make the first advance to peace. It will look like atonement; and contrition is due for offences.

"The war being resolved upon in 1791, fixes this country with the guilt of aggression.—The attempts made in 1792 and 1793 by Messieurs Chauvelin, Maret, the two Mourgues, father and son, Noel, and Reinhard, to prevent hostilities, in which these gentlemen had recourse to my agency, prove that France was desirous to avoid, even down to February, 1793, a rupture with this country. She offered as the price of peace, to rescind the offensive decrees of the 19th of November, and 15th of December, 1792; and to engage that Spain should open all the markets in South America to our manufacturers. I was authorized to state, that whenever Great Britain was disposed to enter into an alliance with

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France, the latter was ready to open a negotiation with the former for that purpose. But when these concessions were made, ministers insisted on the Scheldt remaining in a state of interdiction, under the pretext that Holland would be ruined if the port of Antwerp was opened. On this point, in which their High Mightinesses took no active part, nor did they wish to plunge this country into war, the two nations split. Monsieur Chauvelin, in a very indecent manner, was ordered by Lord Grenville to quit the country.—Monsieur Maret, who crossed to Dover as the other was crossing to Calais, was refused an audience on his arrival in London; and also dismissed, without being admitted to an interview, or allowed to enter into an explanation of the points in dispute. In the Memoirs of my own Times, comprehending a space of thirty years, which I am preparing for the press, it is my intention to enter fully into the history of the French revolution, and to do ample justice to the integrity, the zeal, and pacific dispositions, of the various confidential agents from the executive council, to whom I have referred in this publication, and who were sent from Paris to London in 1792 and 1793, for the express purpose of preserving a good understanding between the two governments; but as the present occasion offers a fair opportunity of mentioning them as they deserve, and as this work goes forth to the world authenticated by my name, I think it due to Mons. Maret, Mons. Reinhard, and Mons. Noel, to declare, that their unremitting efforts to prevent a rupture, are not the less entitled to the esteem of both uations for having been unsuccessful. It was the most earnest wish of these gentlemen, as also of Mons. Mourgue, and his son Scipion, who exerted themselves for the same laudable purpose, to have brought both governments to that favourable and amicable temper towards each other, which might have ultimately led them to consolidate, by a treaty of alliance, their mutual interests. That they came to England for such purposes, is evident from their correspondence; that they

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professed such sentiments, and were grieved and disappointed at the failure of their efforts, are truths which I am bound to acknowledge; and under these impressions they left England. Of Mons. Chauvelin's views and sentiments I can speak with less certainty, because my intercourse with him was less direct, and because I was fully aware that as he was upon ill terms with Lord Grenville, little importance would be attached to any propositions he had to offer.—He was besides not very much in the confidence of the Executive Council, which was composed of new men, suddenly blown into public life by the tempest of the times, and whose names and faces were as little known in Paris before the revolution, as they would have been in Canton. That Mons. Chauvelin anxiously wished to prevent the war is evident from the note he begged me to deliver to Mr. Pitt, even after the gross indecency offered to him by Lord Grenville. If his government had been desirous of seeking a quarrel with this country, the insulting manner in which he was treated by our foreign secretary, would have furnished them with a justifiable pretext for war; or if he had been so disposed, he had a fair opportunity to have done us ill offices, by exaggerating the insult; but so far from having any such views, he offered to see Mr. Pitt after the diplomatic robe had been torn from his shoulders by Lord Grenville; and it was this outrage, which, depriving the Executive Council of all hopes of preserving peace, decided them to declare war: yet even after its commencement, an ineffectual effort was made to renew a negotiation for peace, which Lord Grenville, with his usual acuteness, declined. The secretary of state for foreign affairs in France (Mons. Le Brun) was soon afterwards denounced by the Convention as the author of the war—ordered into custody, but escaped for the moment. At the expiration of six months he was discovered in one of the suburbs, seized, identified, and upon that charge, put to death. This is another strong proof of the aversion which the *nation* had to war; but it was the harsh measure

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of ordering the French minister (Monsieur Chauvelin) to quit the country—it was the contempt with which he was treated by Lord Grenville—that compelled France no longer to observe any measures with us. The measure of hostilities against this country was abruptly and unexpectedly proposed by the foreign minister to the Convention, at that time composed of men, many of whom were uninformed and incapable.—His temper, naturally irritable (for I knew the man), had been provoked by the supercilious and contemptuous conduct of Lord Grenville towards the French minister, and the confidential agents of the French government.—It had been long evident to Le Brun, and his colleagues, that nothing short of the retrograde motion of the revolution would satisfy the court of St. James's; and this decided the Executive Council to meet the danger it could not, by any decent concessions on the part of France, avoid. I conjure your Royal Highness to well weigh in your mind those incontrovertible facts, for the authenticity of which my character for veracity stands pledged: I was not only a spectator of the events of those times, but an humble actor in some of them—anxious to prevent a rupture, which I invariably predicted to Mr. Pitt and his friends, from July, 1790, to January, 1793, when he interdicted my any longer corresponding with the French Executive Council on the subject of peace or war. You will also find, Sir, strong presumptive evidence of this aversion to war, manifested by France from the commencement of her troubles, even after our cabinet had left her no alternative, in the very efforts she afterwards employed to terminate it.

"On this subject I can speak as positively as on the former, nor is it less interesting—both deserve your most serious attention; the very resolve to examine them, is an advance towards reconciliation—it will bring back the public mind from the delusion in which it has been kept, by a series of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for which the country has lost as much character (the best and dearest of all property!)

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as she has of influence. Aware, as your Royal Highness is, of the necessity of peace, well disposed as I know you to be to countenance every honourable means of obtaining it, I feel assured that these sentiments, certainly not the less estimable for being patriotic and benevolent, will acquire additional force in your royal bosom, whenever you recur to the transactions of past times, and reflect on the series of pitiful insults, as well as gross indignities, which have been offered to France, in the persons of those who, at different periods, have had the direction of her affairs, from 1789 to 1799, when Bonaparte, charging himself with the destinies of that nation, monopolized the whole of Lord Grenville's spite, and the spleen of Mr. Pitt.—It is necessary, Sir, to take a summary review of dates; they wonderfully assist the memory, by not only bringing back events and circumstances to our recollection, but in disposing the mind to well weigh and reflect upon them.

"The following chronological statement of undeniable facts, will furnish your Royal Highness with additional reason to regret the perversity which has marked the councils of his Majesty's advisers, and the general delusion by which alone that perversity could have been sustained. Your anxiety to see your afflicted country rescued from a contest into which she has been wantonly, not to say wickedly, plunged; the progress in which has been regularly from bad to worse, without a ray of hope to illumine her course, will become the greater, on your being informed of the inflexible obstinacy with which your father's counsellors have invariably resisted, not only every favourable occasion, but every overture, of the enemy, to end the quarrel.

"The war, Sir, determined upon in 1791, announced itself on the 8th of February, 1793, after various efforts on the part of France to avert so direful a calamity. Towards the end of the following month (March) an offer was made through me to government by the friends of limited monarchy,

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then known by the name of Moderates, to march an army from the Alps of France to Paris, and proclaim the son of Louis the XVIth. then alive, King of France, provided Great Britain would declare herself contented with the constitution which Louis the XVIth. had sworn to respect; and as a pledge of her sincerity, procure the release of Mons. De la Fayette, and his friends, most shamefully, as well as impolitically, detained, first by Prussia, and afterwards by Austria. It was proposed to establish a form of government similar to our own, in which the people should have a security against the encroachments of the crown in the responsibility of its ministers. The party in favour of a limited monarchy was at that time considerable in France; many of them in office: their influence and resources were great—they had founderies in the mountains where they cast cannon—all they wanted was the countenance of Great Britain to re-establish the monarchy—they required no subsidies, no clothing, no ammunition, nor even money to defray the expenses of their journey back—they sought refuge in our justice, from the fury of the jacobins, and the relentless rage of the red-hot royalists. It would have been wisdom to have listened to their offer, and especially, as they candidly stated, that with all their aversion to republicanism, they would prefer it to an absolute monarchy, and trusted they would not be driven to adopt an alternative so repugnant to their habits and principles. I gave their memorial to the Under Secretary of State. The Cabinet was then sitting; I saw it carried in; but as no notice whatever was taken of it, it is fair to presume, that his Majesty's Ministers moved the *previous question, and passed to the order of the day.* About the 4th of February, 1794, I received a letter from Paris, pressing me to use my credit, if I had any, with Mr. Pitt, in favour of peace; adding, that it was the determination of the Convention to expel us, at all events, the Low Countries, the ensuing campaign; and that they would have 200,000 men in Flanders, if necessary.

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I transmitted the letter immediately to Mr. Pitt; and he almost as immediately sent a gentlemen to me, high in his confidence, to request I would not send him any more French intelligence. The message certainly surprised me—it did more—because I thought it was his duty, as Minister, to receive intelligence; it was for him to judge how far it was entitled to credit, or proper to be acted upon: and this I told his friend in nearly the same words. The correctness of my information from Paris, in January, 1794, was completely verified at the conclusion of the year, by the total expulsion of the British, and other foreign troops, from the Austrian Netherlands, and by the subsequent reduction of Holland."—*pp.* 82-98.

"Previous to the 4th of January, 1793, Mr. Chauvelin received instructions from his government, to enquire of Lord Grenville, if the subjects of France were included in the alien bill. If they were, he was to say, that the treaty of commerce was in that case, at an end. If the French were not included, he was to desire Lord Grenville to fix a day for his (Mr. Chauvelin) being presented at court, as the minister of the French republic.

"The answer of Lord Grenville was laconic and pert. Mr. Chauvelin had the mortification of having his paper returned "*as inadmissible, his character in this country being null.*" He felt the incivility, and was well aware of the impression the imprudence of his lordship would make at Paris; but extremely desirous of avoiding war, and anxious to inspire both nations with a mutual confidence in each other's friendship, he offered to put his diplomatic character aside. In consequence of this most temperate conduct, and which offers a striking contrast to the unwarrantable proceedings of Lord Grenville, Mr. Chauvelin requested me to make the following communication to Mr. Pitt. I took the written message, as desired, immediately. The answer was: that he could have no communication with any of the agents of the persons exercising the power of government in France; and I was desired

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not to make myself the channel of any such communication.—This prohibition was repeated to me afterwards on Mr. Maret's second arrival in England, when I made another effort to prevent the effusion of blood:—

"M. Chauvelin affligé de voir la guerre prête à éclater entre la France et l'Angleterre, et desirant tres sincèrement d'écarter, autant qu'il est en lui, un fléau aussi terrible, prendrait sur lui de voir Mr. Pitt, en particulier dans l'espoir qu'en remplissant l'intervalle qui s'écoulera entre la réponse de Lord Grenville et les déterminations alterieures du conseil executif de France, par une communication quelconque on renouerait plus facilement une negotiation qui semble être rompue malheureusement pour le moment.

Portman Square, 6 Janv. 1793.

(Translation of Mr. Chauvelin's Message delivered to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Miles.)

Jan. 6th, 1793.

"Mr. Chauvelin, afflicted to behold the war ready to break out between France and England, and sincerely anxious to prevent so terrible a misfortune to both nations, by every means in his power, will take upon himself the responsibility of seeing, as a private person, Mr. Pitt, in the hope, that in the interval of time necessary to know the ultimate determination of the Executive Council to the answer of Lord Grenville, a channel of communication being kept open, a negociation, which seems to have been unfortunately interrupted for the moment, may be the more easily resumed.

(To the Right Honourable William Pitt.)

Cleveland-row, St. James's,

SIR, *Dec. 14th,* 1792.

"The inclosed is from Mr. Maret, who has just received a dispatch from Paris, which I have read. Forgive me, Sir, if I again make an offer of my service to go to Paris, as I cannot but entertain great hopes, that on a personal explanation with

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Le Brun, in conjunction with Mr. Maret, that the calamities of war may be avoided.

W. A. Miles.

"No answer.—I desired the letter to be returned, with several others, but never received them.—I wrote to the private secretary, desiring he would send them back to me, but they were not to be found; and he advised me to keep copies in future, as he could not answer for their being returned.

Paris le Dec. 1792, *l'an 1er de la R. F.*

"J'esperois comme vous être depuis longtems à Londres, et y retourner avec une branche d'olivier, mais des circonstances imprevues, peut-être des opinions politiques, me retiennent encore à Paris. J'en suis affligé, c'est à mon ami que je le dis, et la peine morale que j'en eprouve n'est assurement pas moindre que la votre—le sentiment douloureux, que vous avez éprouvé par cette dépêche du 14. Je l'ai partagé—je ne sens rien froidement, je n'entrepens rien sans zèle—J'aime votre pays, je cheris le mien, j'eusse souhaité les rapprocher par dessus tout au monde et suis encore à comprendre ce qui les éloigne, car toutes les raisons politiques, et morales, semblent concourir à la réussite de mon projet cheri—vingt fois je voudrois être encore au 14ieme siècle pour croire que c'est quelque enchantement car il répugne à mon ame de croire au 18ieme que c'etoit l'interêt particulier ou l'insouciance. Je suis toujours à vous.

[*à Monsieur Miles.*]

(*Translation.*)

Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.

Paris, 21*st Dec.* 1792.

"I really expected, as well as yourself, to have returned to London with the olive branch; but unforeseen circumstances, or perhaps political motives, detain me yet here.—It afflicts me much; and it is to you, my dear friend, that I confess the grief it occasions me, and which you certainly must feel as well as myself.—Be assured, that I felt as much hurt as your-

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self, at the dispatch of the 14th inst.—Indifference does not mark my character, and I never engage but with zeal in any enterprize.—I love your country; I am attached to my own:—and above all things, I wished the union of the two nations. I am yet to learn what prevents a union, which every reason, moral and political, appears to recommend, and to ensure success to my favourite object. I would persuade myself that it is the 14th century, and not the 18th in which I live, in order to believe that all this interruption is the effect of enchantment, for it distresses me to attribute it to particular interests, or to indifference.

[*Mr. Miles, London.*] I am, ever your's.

From a confidential Agent of the French Executive Council, and who was appointed Secretary of Legation after Mr. Chauvelin's arrival.

Paris, 31*st Dec.* 1792.

"Amongst the many obstacles thrown in the way of accommodation, was that of requiring France to make peace with the Emperor—and this obstacle produced a long letter from the foreign department in Paris, of which the following is an extract:

"Vous avez une bien étrange idée de la situation de ce pays, si vous croyés qu'il soit obligé de souscrire à des conditions qu'on pourroit exiger.—Nous ferons des conditions à nos ennemis vaincus, et n'en recevrons de personne—quel interêt peut donc avoir la Grande Bretagne à ce que nous fassions la paix avec nos ennemis actuels? et de quel droit peut elle l'exiger—nous ne ferons jamais la guerre sur des prétextes specieux, mais quand nous la ferons, elle est terrible—nous voulons la paix avec nos voisins, surtout avec vous que nous aimons mieux que toute autre nation. Je joins ici mes efforts aux votres pour réunir nos pays, mais on fait chez vous de rudes efforts pour les éloigner—que signifient les insolentes epithets que Mons. Burke distribue à toute la nation Françoise? Croit on ne pas aliéner les esprits par ces appellations qui ne siéroient même pas dans la bouche d'un insensé. Je

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déteste, je méprise beaucoup de choses de notre nouveau gouvernement—mais aussi je haïs cent fois plus l'avilissant orgueil de nos émigrés, et de deux maux je choisie le moins grand (la république). Croyez vous que l'on puisse voir ici avec plaisir la protection ouverte que l'on donne à ces hommes d'orgueil et de sang, qui voudroient porter le fer et la flamme dans leur patrie? la paix de nos deux pays tient à un fil, aussi que le repos de l'Europe. Si nous nous ecartons toujours; si votre ministère refuse tout rapprôchement, je tremble que les consequences n'en soient la guerre. Peut-être la desire-t-il? ne nous decourageons pourtant pas, je tâche de ménager les esprits ici, car je ne voudrois pas la guerre mais il faudroit que votre ministre changeat d'attitude, qu'il fut franc, et communicatif.

(Translation.)

Office of Secretary of State, Foreign Department.
Paris, 31st Dec. 1792.

"You have a strange idea of this country, if you think she is obliged to comply with any of the conditions that may be offered to her.

To the vanquished we accord conditions, but receive none. What is it to Great Britain, whether we make peace with our present enemies or not? And by what right can she exact it? We never declare war upon trifling pretences; but when we do, it is terrible. We wish for peace with our neighbours, especially with you, whom we love better than any other nation—my efforts are employed, as well as yours, to unite the two countries; but your government does every thing in its power to prevent it. What is the meaning of those impertinent epithets that Mr. Burke bestows indiscriminately on the French nation? Do you not think that men's minds will be fired by opprobrious appellations which would disgrace the mouth of a madman? I detest many things of our new government, but I hold in much greater detestation the pride and insolence of our emigrants; of two evils, I choose the lesser (the republic). Do you imagine, we can behold with indifference the open

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protection given to those haughty and sanguinary men, who would carry fire and sword into their country? The peace of the two nations, and consequently of Europe, certainly hangs by a thread—but if we avoid all amicable explanation; if your minister will not preserve a good understanding, I am afraid that war is inevitable: perhaps he desires it? Do not, however, let us be discouraged. I am endeavouring to direct the public mind here, for I do not wish for war; but it is necessary that your minister changes his attitude, and that he is open and communicative.

(Postscript from Mr. Maret to Mr. Miles.)

5th Jan. 1793.

"Le Brun me charge de vous témoigner ses regrets de ce qu'il est obligé de deferer encore le plaisir de vous écrire—il vous prie donc de ne pas douter de tous ses sentimens pour vous—si par impossible nos nations parvenoient à se rapprocher, et à s'entendre, il verrait avec une grande joie l'occasion de communiquer, de travailler avec vous, à cette œuvre salutaire et pacifique—assurement votre gouvernement ne pourrait choisir personne, dans aucune circonstance, avec qui Le Brun eut plus de plaisir à parler d'affaires. Adieu, adieu.

(Translation.)

Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.

Paris, Jan. 5th, 1793.

"Mr. Le Brun desires me to express to you his sincere regret, that he is still obliged to defer the pleasure of writing to you—he begs of you not to doubt his esteem. If it was possible for our nations to understand each other, it will give him great pleasure to join his efforts with yours, to accomplish this salutary and pacific object—assuredly your government could not choose any person in any case, with whom Le Brun would have more pleasure to transact business.

(From Mr. Maret, premier chef du departement des affaires étrangeres.)

Paris, 7th Janvier, 1793.

"Que sont donc devenues, mon cher Miles ses dispositions bienveillantes et pacifiques dont vous m'aviez donné l'espe-

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rance? puis-je les retrouver dans l'activité de vos armemens? dans le langage injurieux que les hommes, mêmes les plus sages de votre Parlement ont adopté sur tout ce qui regarde la France? dans les actes véritablement hostiles dont les Français, leurs personnes leurs effets de commerce, sont devenues l'objet depuis, que votre, législature est rassemblées? *dans la fierté véritablement injurieuse, que vos ministres ne cessent d'opposer à la conduite sage et modérée de la république?* Non, mon cher Miles, ce n'est point ainsi qu'on peut rapprocher deux nations, dont l'union assurerait la prospérité réciproque; qui en vivant en bonne intelligence, ne tarderaient pas à jouir de l'utile et honorable avantage, d'être les arbitres des intérets divers de toutes les puissances du monde, et qui du moins si elles s'arment l'une contre l'autre, doivent se combattre, sans cesser de s'estimer—notre Gouvernement ne craint pas la guerre; il connait ses ressources et vos moyens; il sait quels seraient ses amis, et vos ennemis; son active prévoyance l'a mis en mésure, de se defendre, ou même d'attaquer, avec vigeur; des calculs établis sur des bases certaines, lui présentent assez de chances de succés, pour croire, que le bonheur qui jusqu'a ce jour a couronné toutes ses entreprises, n'abandonnera point nos étendards, si vous nous forcez à diriger contre vous, nos armes victorieuses—*cependant il desire encore la paix; il la préférerait à la guerre la plus heureuse; il est pret à faire pour l'obtenir tous les sacrifices que pourront permettre la dignité républicaine, et les intérets de notre patrie.*

(Translation.)

Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.
Paris, 7th Jan. 1793.

"What are become, my dear Miles, of those benevolent and pacific dispositions which you encouraged me to hope prevailed with your government? Must I look for them in your warlike preparations? In the insulting language in which men, the most enlightened in your parliament, speak on all occasions of France? In the hostility of your proceedings against her natives

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—their persons, and their effects? In the arrogance of your ministers, which, opposed to the wise moderation of our government, is as humiliating as it is impolitic? No, my dear Miles, it is not by such means that friendship can be preserved between two nations whose union would ensure their reciprocal prosperity.—Who, preserving a good understanding with each other, would soon enjoy the honourable and valuable distinction of arbitrating the different pretensions of all nations—and who, at least, should they be compelled to arm themselves against each other, would not in their combats forget to esteem each other. Our government does not fear war.—It knows its resources, and your means.—It knows who will be its enemies, and who will be your friends: its active foresight has put it in a condition to defend itself, or even to attack with vigour—calculations founded on the soundest basis, offer sufficient assurances, that the good fortune which has hitherto given success to our enterprizes, will not desert our standards, should you compel our victorious army to direct its force against you—yet, with all this knowledge, and with all these encouragements, our government yet wish to preserve peace—it would even prefer it to the most successful war—it is ready to make every sacrifice in its power, consistently with the dignity of the republic, and the interests of the nation.

(Un extrait.)

Du departement des affaires étrangeres.

11*th Janvier*, 1793.

"J'espere qu' après les mesures qui pourront être prises par notre gouvernement et par le votre, de rétablir un peu de bonne harmonie, mais je crains beaucoup qu'une trop longue incertitude ne nous engage trop avant, avec les Liegeois qui désirent la ré-union à la France et même avec les Belges dont les plus belles provinces, les deux Flandres, le Tournésis, le Hainaut, et le Namurois, sont en mesure d'exprimer la même vœu. Avec l'esperance fondée de la paix, on ne balancerait pas à le rejetter; avec la persuasion qu'on ne peut éviter la guerre, on

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se determinerait peut-être à ne plus garder de ménagement et à les réunir; tâchons d'éviter une determination que je ne crois pas nécessaire pour nous, et qui n'entrerait pas dans les vues de votre gouvernement—adieu, mon cher Miles, je vous suis tout dévoué.

(Translation.)

Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.
Paris, 11th Jan. 1793.

"I augur well upon the measures which may be taken by your government and mine, to re-establish harmony between the two nations—but I am much afraid that a state of suspence much longer observed, will force us to enter into engagements with the people of Liege; who, as well as the people of Brabant, wish to unite themselves to France, as its best provinces, the two Flanders, Tournay, Hainault, and Namur, all express the same desire.

With a well-founded hope of peace being preserved, we should not hesitate a moment to reject these offers; but under the persuasion that war cannot be avoided, we shall decide to no longer hesitate to re-unite them. Let us then endeavour to avoid a determination, which I do not believe is necessary to us, and which certainly would not accord with the views of your government. Adieu, my dear Miles,

I am most truly your's, &c.

(To the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.)

"Sir, 13*th Jan.* 1793.

"This is merely to inform you, that the instructions transmitted to Mr. Chauvelin, by the same express that brought my dispatch, are communicated to me in the letter I have received, and that I am authorised to state that to you, which he cannot say, and which indeed he does not know. I beg to know when I may have the honour of laying before you, what has been transmitted to me from Paris.

"No answer. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. A. Miles.

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(*From Mr. Renard, Secretary of Legation.*)

Portman-square, 19 *Janvier*, 1793.

"Je vous tiens parole, homme respectable, qui redoute la guerre, parcequ'elle est la honte, et le fléau de l'espèce humaine. La réponse de Lord Grenville, est arrivée—elle paroit rendre impossible tout moyen de s'entendre, le gouvernement Anglais nous *méprise*, voila sur quoi je fonde encore mon espoir.

Ce Samedi, à trois heures du matin.

(*Translation.*)

Portman-square, 19 *Jan.* 1793.

"I keep my word with you, and respect you for reprobating war, for it is at once the scourge and disgrace of our species. The answer of Lord Grenville is arrived; and all means of preserving a good understanding seems to be at an end—the English government despises us, and it is from this very circumstance I yet hope success.—Saturday at 3 in the morning.

Extrait.

(*From Mons. Noel, Minister Plenipotentiary from France, at Venise*, 19 *d'Août*, 1793.)

"Tous mes efforts pour conserver la paix ont été detruits, je me fusse éstimé trop heureaux de concourir à ce grand ouvrage, *et je n'oublierai jamais qu'il n'a pas tenu à vous monsieur, que je n'eusse cette gloire à jamais regrettable.* Je me plais à rendre à votre philanthropie, et aux soins genereaux qu'elle vous à fait prendre, le témoignage qu'ils meritent.

[*à Monsieur Miles, Cleveland row.*]

(*Translation.*)

"All my efforts for preserving peace have failed. I should have esteemed myself extremely happy in having contributed to that great point, and I shall never forget, that *it was not your fault that I did not acquire a glory ever to be regretted.* It is a pleasure to acknowledge what is due to your philanthropy, and generous exertions."—*pp.* 165-173.

[*To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row.*]

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The following is partly extracted from Mr. (now Lord) Erskine's *View of the Causes and Consequences of the present War with France*:—"In the month of July, when the vast confederacy begun in Europe, was more visibly extending itself against France, M. Chauvelin, in the name of the French King, earnestly applied for the mediation of Great Britain upon the subject.

"This application was answered by Lord Grenville, on the 8th of July, in which, after repeating former assurances of friendship towards France, and of a disposition to maintain the happy harmony which subsisted between the two empires, the proposed mediation was refused.

"The same determination, not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, was repeated only a few days before Mr. Chauvelin was ordered to quit the kingdom, under the circumstances of direct interference, which will presently appear to have attended his dismission: and the refusal to mediate with the Emperor for the restoration of peace, was given but a short time before we involved Holland in the horrors of war, without being desired to intermeddle in her affairs.

"Soon after this, the unhappy King of France was deprived of the functions of government, and Lord Gower was recalled from Paris; but Mr. Chauvelin was still continued by France at the court of London, although he was no longer acknowledged as her ambassador: a pretty strong proof that she was not then desirous of seeking a cause of quarrel.

"Though Mr. Chauvelin was now, in a manner, a private man, yet the correspondence nevertheless continued with the Secretary of State; and it appears, by referring to it, that the charges made by this country to the conduct of France, were principally these:—A meditated attack upon Holland, and at all events, a violation of her rights, notwithstanding her neutrality, by the proceedings of the convention respecting the Scheldt, and the opening of a passage through it to attack the citadel of Antwerp; the French invasion and possession of

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the Netherlands; and the encouragement given to revolt in other countries, not only by emissaries in this country, but by the decree of the 19th of November, which contained a formal declaration to extend, universally, the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage revolt in all countries, even in those which were neutral.

"The following is Mr. Chauvelin's letter to Lord Grenville, December 17th, 1792, in which he explains himself on these subjects, and endeavours to do away the odium which France had incurred, and to induce the English ministry to join in endeavouring to remove the misunderstanding which threatened to involve the two nations in war:—

'The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of France, has the honour to communicate to Lord Grenville, the instructions which he has received from the Executive Council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs, in case he should think that he could not speedily enough obtain an interview with the Minister.

"'The French government, by continuing, since the recall of Lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London a Minister Plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic Majesty, an unequivocal proof of the desire they had to remain in good understanding with the British court; and to see all those clouds dissipated, to which events, necessary and inseparable from the internal government of France, seemed then to have given birth. The intention of the Executive Council of France toward England, have never ceased to be the same, but they cannot see with indifference, the public conduct which the British Ministry observe at present toward France. It is much to be regretted, that they have perceived in this conduct, an indisposition which they still force themselves to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it much longer in that state of uncertainty into which

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it has been thrown, by several measures lately adopted by the British government; an uncertainty in which the English nation must share, and which must be equally unworthy of both. The Executive Council of the French republic, have consequently authorized the Minister of France, at London, to demand, with openness, of the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power; and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point, a difinitive answer. But in demanding from the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, an open and candid explanation of their intentions toward France, the Executive Council do not wish that the smallest doubt should exist, respecting the disposition of France toward England, and of its desire to remain at peace with it. They even wish to answer previously to all those reproaches which may be thrown out against France, in order to justify England. Reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Britannic Majesty to break with the French republic, the Executive Council can see them only as a false interpretation, given, perhaps, to the decree of the National Convention of November 19th. If the British Ministry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The National Convention never intended that the French republic should favour insurrection, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons; or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot, without injustice, be imputed to the National Convention. This decree, then is applicable only to those people, who, after having conquered their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France not only ought and wishes to respect the independance of England, but that also of its allies, with whom it is not at war. The undersigned, therefore, has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland, while that power

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confines itself, on its part, within the bounds of strict neutrality. The British government being thus assured respecting the two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheldt, a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice, of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known, to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole cause of a war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this last motive, to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take the advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression, long ago meditated?

"'On this fatal supposition, which the Executive Council rejects, the undersigned would be authorized to support with energy the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmness, that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so unprovoked on their part. When all these explanations, necessary to demonstrate the purity of the intention of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight, and the whole responsibility, of the war, will sooner or later fall upon those who have provoked it. Such a war would really be the war of the British Ministry, only against the French republic; and should this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not, perhaps, be impossible for France to render it soon evident to a nation, which, in giving its confidence, never renounced the exercise of reason, and its respect for justice and truth.

"'Such are the instructions which the undersigned has received orders to communicate officially to Lord Grenville; inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic Majesty, to weigh, with the most serious attention, the deliberations and demands which they contain. It is evident that the

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French nation desires to preserve peace with England. It proves this, by endeavouring with candour and openness to remove every suspicion which so many passions and various prejudications are continually labouring to excite against it; but the more it shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of its views, and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will have to a claim of being no longer misunderstood.

"'The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note: he hopes that the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, will be induced, by the explanations which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good understanding between the two nations; and will have no occasion, in order to return to them, to consider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which would incontestably be their work; the consequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and in which a generous and free people could not long consent to betray their own interests, by serving to assist and support a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.'"

"Lord Grenville's answer, and an official note of the Executive power of France, in reply to it, may be found in the *New Annual Register*, for the year 1793. As they are both calculated to convince the reader who were the aggressors, I regret that they are too long to be inserted here.

"On January the 17th, Mr. Chauvelin presented the letters of credence he had received from the republic, but which were refused. Not because of the aggressions enumerated, or any other, but solely because France was a republic. By which it was tacitly acknowledged that the note of the Executive power of France, had completely driven the English Ministry from their former ground. So far, at least, as their correspondence with the French government and its agents was concerned; though they were obliged still to maintain it in their appeals to the people of this country; as they would not otherwise have

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The Consequences of
Unjust War
A Discourse Feb. 22, 1815
(London) 60 By J. Bicheno

been able to bring forward any plausible arguments to reconcile them to the war determined on.

"In a few days afterwards, Monsieur Chauvelin was dismissed from the kingdom; 'not because the answers of his government were declared unsatisfactory on the points objected to, but because the French monarchy had been finally terminated by the destruction of their king.' On that account solely, Monsieur Chauvelin was directed, on the 24th of January, 1793, to quit this kingdom; the King having declared by the Secretary of State, 'That after such an event, his Majesty could no longer permit his residence here.' And the communication of that order to the parliament, on the 28th of January following, expressly stated his dismission to be 'on account of the late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris.'

"Before this period, France was, undoubtedly, solicitous for peace. She had done none of the acts complained of in the correspondence, until her independence had been threatened by a hostile confederacy. She had prayed the mediation of Great Britain to dissolve that confederacy, and to avert its consequences. She had disavowed conquest and aggrandizement; and the only steps she had taken inconsistent with that declaration, were invasions of the terrritories of princes confederating, or confederated, against her. She offered to respect the neutrality of Holland; and solemnly disavowed every act or intention to disturb the government of Great Britain."

It is impossible not to be astonished, after all that has been brought to light, relative to the origin of the war between this country and France, that one man should be left, who at all pretends to think, or possesses any means of information, who can even entertain a doubt as to the authors of it. If Mr. Miles's report be correct, and there appears no reason to suspect it to be otherwise, war with France was determined on as early as *ninety-one*, when the French revolution was yet in its infancy, and when no offence against this country is pretended to

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have been given; and Mr. Pitt, and his coadjutors, only waited till they could find, or rather create, a plausible pretext to cover the enormity of the injustice they meditated, and prepare the unsuspicious public to sanctify, by its voice, the iniquity of their determination. History will do justice to their memory; but for the injuries they have occasioned the country, and to humanity, no compensation can ever be made.

Note D.

March 6th.—That dreadful power with which superstition invested the Popes of Rome, and which, in the course of *twelve centuries*, inflicted so many calamities on Europe, IS NO MORE! Rome, that for so many ages claimed the implicit homage of kings and nations, and found them too willing to submit both their temporal and spiritual concerns to its proud and impious pretensions, is now reduced to be but the second city in the new empire, which is creating; and its haughty bishop, from an independent sovereign, is humbled to the rank of simple episcopacy, with only the name of precedence, without the power of coercing conscience.

However much humanity and justice oblige us to lament those abuses of power, which terminate only in the gratification of personal ambition: yet, so far as that power is employed for the overthrow of the domination of superstition and tyranny, and for the emancipation of conscience, it claims our admiration: at least our admiration of Providence, which *makes the wrath of men to praise God*, by making their schemes for advancing their own purposes the means of regenerating the Christian church, and of restoring Christianity to its original purity; and thus, of advancing towards perfection, the moral world.

The late decree for uniting Rome to France, cannot fail of exciting the interest of all thoughtful protestants. Rome, indeed, had been taken possession of by the French army in Italy, ever since February 1808; and by a decree, proclaimed in Rome last June, the Pope was banished from that city, and

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the final purpose of Napoleon, respecting its destiny, announced: but it was not till the 17th ultimo, that the humiliation of the Pope, and the annexation of Rome and its territory, to the monarchy of France, were formally and finally decreed by the constituted authorities.

Paris, February 17th.—At two o'clock this day, the Senate assembled, under the presidency of the Prince Arch Chancellor of the Empire, and adopted the following Senatus Consultum:—

Extract from the Records of the Conservative Senate, of February 17th.

The Conservative Senate, assembled in the number of members prescribed by Article xc. of the Constitutional Act of the 13th of December, 1799, has considered the project of the Organic Senatus Consultum, drawn up in the form prescribed by Article lvii. the Constitutional Act of the 4th of August, 1802; after having heard the orators of the Council of State, and the Report of the Special Commission appointed in the sitting of the 14th of this month, the adoption being voted by the number of votes prescribed in Article lvi. of the Constitutional Act of the 4th of August, 1802, it is decreed as follows:

TITLE FIRST.—*Of the Union of the Roman States to the Empire.*

Art. 1. The State of Rome is united to the French Empire, and forms an integral part thereof.

2. It shall be divided into two departments; the department of Rome, and the department of Trasimene.

3. The department of Rome shall send Seven Deputies to the Legislative Body; the department of Trasimene shall send Four.

4. The department of Rome shall be classed in the first series; the department of Trasimene in the second.

5. A Senatory shall be established in the departments of Rome and Trasimene.

6. The City of Rome is the second city of the empire. The Mayor of Rome is to be present when the Emperor takes the oaths on his accession. He is to rank, as are also all Deputa-

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tions from the City of Rome, on all occasions, immediately after the Mayors or Deputations of the City of Paris.

7. The Prince Imperial is to assume the title, and receive the honours of King of Rome.

8. A Prince of the Blood, or a Grand Dignitary of the Empire, shall reside at Rome, who shall hold the Emperor's Court.

9. The property which composes the endowments of the Imperial Crown, shall be regulated by a Special Senatus Consultum.

10. After having been crowned in the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris, the Emperors shall, previous to the tenth year of their reign, be crowned in the Church of St. Peter.

11. The City of Rome shall enjoy particular privileges and immunities, which shall be determined by the Emperor Napoleon.

TILTE II.—*Of the Independance of the Imperial Throne of all authority on Earth.*

12. Every foreign Sovereign is incompatible with the exercise of any Spiritual Authority, within the territory of the Empire.

13. The Popes shall, at their elevation, take an oath never to act contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church, adopted in an Assembly of the Clergy, in 1682.*

* These four propositions are to the following purpose:

1. That neither St. Peter, nor his successors, have received from God, any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interest of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman Pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils, as superior to that of the Pope's, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the Pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.—*Mosheim's Eccle. Hist.* cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i.

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14. The four propositions of the Catholic Church, are declared common to all the Catholic churches of the Empire.

TITLE III.—*Of the Temporal Existence of the Popes.*

15. Palaces shall be prepared for the Pope in the different parts of the Empire in which he may wish to reside. He shall necessarily have one at Paris, and another at Rome.

16. Two millions, in rural property, free of all impositions, and lying in different parts of the empire, shall be assigned to the Pope.

17. The expenses of the Sacred College, and of the Propaganda, shall be declared Imperial.

18. The present Organic Senatus Consultum, shall be transmitted, by a message, to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

(Signed) CAMBACERES,
Prince Arch Chancellor of the Empire.

(Signed and Sealed) FRANCOIS, JANCOURT, CORNET,
Secretaries.
COUNT LAPLACE,
Chancellor of the Senate.

Of all the wonderful occurrences, which, in the course of the last twenty years, have indicated the hand of God, accomplishing his word, none of them have so decisively determined the peculiar character of the times we live in, and of the work that is doing on the earth, as those which have happened to Rome, and its hierarchy. Nor has there been one step in the progress of the downfall of the papal monarchy, that has so certainly borne the print of that particular visitation, for which the Protestant world has been looking, as this which has just been taken. And though I shall not now detain the reader to attend to any of those arguments, which might be brought forward to prove, that what we see, bears all the marks of being that accomplishment of the prophecies for which Protestants have been waiting; yet, thus much I cannot help saying, although we have not yet seen all *that* effected which we expect to see, before *the man of sin* expires under the repeated strokes of Di-

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vine vengeance, still enough is done to awaken all good men to *fear God, and give him glory, because the hour of his judgment is come.* She that was drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus is made desolate: and though they who have been made rich by her, may wail and cry, *Alas, alas, that great city!* there is no reason why the true friends of religious freedom, and uncorrupted Christianity, should not join in the song of triumph over Babylon, *Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you of her.*

"But, if we are then to rejoice at the overthrow of *Baby-*
"*lon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and abominations of*
"*the earth,* ought we not, then, to refuse toleration to the
"votaries of that superstition, over the ruin of which we are
"called to exult? Is it not our duty to join in the most effi-
"cacious means to avenge the blood which that superstition
"has spilt?" The Christian who has learned of Jesus Christ, and drank into his spirit, will feel no difficulty in unequivocally answering, *No.*—Our Lord and Master has not authorized his disciples to exercise *any* controul over the religious opinions and worship of their fellow-creatures, unless such as may be derived from the persuasions of love. We may lament the blindness and obstinacy of our Roman-catholic neighbours and countrymen, and may propose the arguments that may be calculated to convince them of their errors; but we have no right, because their religious tenets may be erroneous, or because their worship may be idolatrous, to subject them to the forfeiture of any of their civil or political rights, or to any other pains or penalties on this account. If religious opinions lead any to those overt acts, by which either the state, or individuals, are injured, punish the offender; but assume not that authority over mind and worship, which is the peculiar prerogative of the Creator; nor hazard the breach of the most certain and sacred duties of humanity and religion, to prevent the imaginary, or possible, evils, which might result from unre-

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strained liberty of conscience. Nor should these liberal sentiments influence only private individuals: they ought also to direct the public measures of all Christian governments. This is the spirit of the religion of the Saviour whose *kingdom is not of this world.* And, in this empire, at the present moment, this unlimited toleration is a duty, which is not only recommended by the genius, and enjoined by the precepts, of our benevolent religion, but that which political expedience requires us to exercise. Policy comes to the aid of morality and religion, and urges additional motives to restrain our bigotry, and to enforce liberal dealing with each other on the score of religious differences: without it the public strength is impaired, civil war is provoked, and the safety of the empire is endangered.

And as the aid of our bigotry is not wanted for the restraint of error, and propagation of truth, so neither does Providence need, nor require, the aid of our arm to overthrow that error and superstition which prophecy has doomed to destruction. It is true, that that monster which has taken *the sword* to subdue the consciences of men, and enforce corruption, is to *be killed with the sword;* but Providence will not be at a loss to effect his designs of vengeance, without calling *the meek of the earth* to execute them.—Christians are to give glory to God when he fulfils his word by the execution of his righteous judgments on the persecutors of his church, and corruptors of his worship, but we have no commission but *to do good; to be long-suffering, forbearing, and peaceable; to love our enemies; to do good to them who hate us; and, to pray for them who have despitefully used us.*

FINIS.

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